



## Public Attitudes toward Israel: A Study of the Attentive and Issue Publics

Jon Krosnick; Shibley Telhami

*International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (Dec., 1995), 535-554.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0020-8833%28199512%2939%3A4%3C535%3APATIAS%3E2.0.CO%3B2-L>

*International Studies Quarterly* is currently published by The International Studies Association.

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/about/terms.html>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/journals/isa.html>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

---

JSTOR is an independent not-for-profit organization dedicated to creating and preserving a digital archive of scholarly journals. For more information regarding JSTOR, please contact [jstor-info@umich.edu](mailto:jstor-info@umich.edu).

## Public Attitudes Toward Israel: A Study of the Attentive and Issue Publics

JON KROSNICK

*The Ohio State University*

AND

SHIBLEY TELHAMI

*Cornell University*

Scholars of international relations have often suggested that American public opinion may have been an important influence on U.S. foreign policy toward Israel in recent decades. Yet empirical explorations of this possibility have generally adopted only the majoritarian perspective regarding public influence and have ignored two plausible alternatives: the guardianship and pluralist perspectives. In this article, we explore the potential utility of these latter views by examining whether or not public attitudes on relations with Israel among members of the *attentive public* and the Arab-Israeli *issue public* were different from the attitudes of nonmembers in 1988–1990. Using data from two representative sample surveys, we found that attentive public and issue public members were less likely to take neutral stances on issues related to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Furthermore, issue public members were more supportive of Israel and its government's official policies than were nonmembers, but no such difference appeared in comparisons of attentive public members to nonmembers. Thus, future investigations of the interface between public opinion and foreign policy on this and other issues may benefit from paying close attention to issue public members as distinct from the general public.

---

In international relations scholars' study of the factors that shape foreign policy decisions, a great deal of work has analyzed U.S. policy toward Israel. Among the many factors apparently influencing decisions in this arena are American national interests in the Middle East (e.g., Adams, 1981; Chomsky, 1983; Spiegel, 1985; Sheffer, 1987; Organski, 1990), pro-Israeli lobbying efforts in Washington (e.g., Trice, 1976, 1978; Uslaner, 1986; Smith, 1988:215–229), the opinions of elite foreign policy opinion leaders (e.g., Gibson, 1988; Bardes and Oldendick, 1990), and U.S. public opinion (e.g., Leigh, 1976; Trice, 1976; Destler and Lake, 1984;

---

*Authors' note:* This research was supported by grants from The Ohio State University Office of Research and Graduate Studies, The Mershon Center, The Ohio State University Department of Political Science, The Ohio State University College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, and the National Science Foundation (Grant BNS-8920430 to the first author). The authors wish to thank Wendy Rahn, Matthew Berent, Shanto Iyengar, Bruce Russett, and Robert Shapiro for especially helpful comments and suggestions. Correspondence regarding this article should be addressed to Jon A. Krosnick, Department of Psychology, The Ohio State University, 1885 Neil Avenue, Columbus, Ohio 43210, or to Shibley Telhami, Department of Government, McGraw Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York 14853.

Cotton, 1986; Gilboa, 1987; Zureik and Moughrabi, 1987; Russett and Graham, 1989; Brooks, 1990; Organski, 1990). Our focus in this article is on this latter factor: public opinion.

Political theorists have proposed various models seeking to account for the relation between public preferences and public policy (e.g., Dahl, 1956, 1989). Yet past studies of U.S. public opinion toward Israel have been driven nearly exclusively by only one of these: the majoritarian view. In this article, we explore the potential utility of two alternative possibilities: the guardianship and pluralist perspectives. We begin below by outlining these various perspectives and reviewing previous studies' findings regarding U.S. public opinion on the Arab-Israeli conflict. Then, we report the results of two surveys we conducted to see if adoption of either the guardianship or the pluralist perspective might yield usefully different empirical findings from those of most relevance to the majoritarian view.

### Models of Public Opinion Influence

According to the *majoritarian* view of public opinion influence, policy-makers may at times identify the policy preference of the majority of his or her constituents on some issue, and then pursue that policy. If such influence occurred in the case of the Arab-Israeli conflict, we would expect a majority of the American public to hold opinions consistent with U.S. behavior toward Israel. If a majority was instead opposed to courses of actions typically taken by the U.S., majoritarians would conclude that no correspondence exists between public opinion and U.S. policy toward Israel. Thus, it would seem unlikely that policy was shaped by the public's will.

The *guardianship* view focuses on the stratification of democratic electorates in terms of their knowledge about and involvement in politics (e.g., Milbrath, 1965; Devine, 1970; Neuman, 1986; Dahl, 1989). This view was offered particularly clearly by Almond (1950), who argued that only a subset of democratic citizens are likely to be cognitively engaged in the affairs of politics and therefore likely to exert influence upon them. Specifically, Almond suggested, "the college-educated group constitutes . . . the most alert, informed, interested, and discriminating audience for public policy decisions" (p. 127). It is among this *attentive public*, as Almond (1950) called it, that the correspondence between public opinion and government action should be the strongest.

Advocates of the third perspective, the *pluralist* view, would argue that one should not expect to observe correspondence between public policy and the preferences of the majority of either the general public or the attentive public (see, e.g., Dahl, 1956:90-123). As Dahl (1956) outlined, the legitimacy of a democratic government is likely to be significantly eroded over time if it ignores the wills of intense minorities in order to pursue the weak preferences of majorities. Therefore, one should expect to see correspondence only between government policy on an issue and the opinions of those citizens who have strong feelings on that particular issue. With regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict, pluralists would therefore be most interested in the opinions of what Converse (1964) called the relevant *issue public*.

These three visions of public opinion impact on policy-making could be realized through a variety of different processes (Schattschneider, 1942; Schumpeter, 1950; Downs, 1957). First, policy-makers could gauge public sentiment by consulting opinion poll results and then pursue policies that enjoy majority support. Alternatively, citizens could use their policy preferences on an issue to decide which candidates for public office to support, thus enhancing the likelihood that elected officials will share these preferences. Finally, individual citizens can communicate their views on an issue directly to policy-makers.

### Understanding U.S. Policy in the Middle East

The viability of the majoritarian, guardianship, and pluralist visions of public influence can presumably be gauged by examining the correspondence between public policy on an issue and the relevant preferences of the general public or portions thereof. Of course, correspondence does not necessarily indicate that influence has occurred (Russett, 1990). But lack of correspondence would certainly call into question the influence hypothesis.

Fortunately, many studies of American public opinion toward Israel have been reported, but nearly all have focused exclusively on the general public as a whole (e.g., Trice, 1976, 1978; Iyengar and Suleiman, 1980; de Boer, 1983; Gilboa, 1985a, 1985b, 1986, 1987; Richman, 1989; Organski, 1990; Page and Shapiro, 1992). Some such studies have identified significant, understandable variations in Americans' support for Israel during the last 40 years (e.g., Trice, 1978; Iyengar and Suleiman, 1980; Gilboa, 1985b; Organski, 1990; Page and Shapiro, 1992). At the same time, however, there appears to have been a consistency in opinions over the long haul: at least two to three times as many Americans typically have reported being more sympathetic toward Israel than toward the Arabs (e.g., Stember, 1966; Gilboa, 1985b, 1987; Organski, 1990; Page and Shapiro, 1992), and this ratio was even greater during some periods, such as the early 1970s (see, e.g., Trice, 1976). Thus, one can legitimately conclude from this evidence that there has been substantially more public support for Israel than for the Arabs over the years. To the extent that U.S. policy has been consistent with this preference, the former can conceivably be attributed at least partly to the influence of the latter.

However, some evidence questions the viability of the majoritarian perspective in this context. First, large proportions of Americans, sometimes as many as one-third to one-half of the nation, have said they were equally sympathetic toward both sides or had no opinion one way or the other. This could be viewed as representing a challenge to the majoritarian perspective, because it could be argued that the overall majority has taken no clear stand on the issue, thus leaving government free to base its decisions on other considerations. Furthermore, Iyengar and Suleiman's (1980) longitudinal analysis showed that changes in U.S. policy toward Israel tended to precede later, consonant changes in general public opinion, rather than shifts in general public opinion on this issue preceding (and therefore perhaps causing) consonant changes in policy-making. Thus, it is unclear whether or not the majoritarian perspective is viable.

Although no detailed studies have yet examined preferences regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict of attentive public or issue public members, psychological studies suggest that these opinions are likely to have just the features necessary for significant impact on government. First, people who are especially interested or involved in an issue tend to hold attitudes that are unusually resistant to change (Ewing, 1942; Kendall, 1954; Hahn, 1970; Krosnick, 1988b). Thus, government actions are unlikely to shape attentive and/or issue public members' views. This suggests that Iyengar and Suleiman's (1980) pattern of causal flow is likely to have been due to opinion dynamics among nonmembers, not among members.

Because attentive public and issue public members' preferences most likely remain firmly crystallized, they persistently demand a response from government. Furthermore, prolonged interest in and thought about an issue leads people's attitudes to become more polarized (Tesser, 1978). Thus, preferences regarding U.S. action toward Israel may well be decisively one-sided among the attentive and/or issue publics. Such one-sidedness would presumably exert more pressure on government than the largely neutral stance of the general public. For all these reasons, then, careful study of the attentive and issue publics may shed new light on the relation between public opinion and public policy in the Arab-Israeli arena.

The investigation described below represents a first step in exploring the potential utility of studying the attentive and issue publics in this domain. Specifically, we conducted two representative sample surveys to examine whether or not the policy preferences held by attentive public and issue public members were distinct from those of nonmembers. If these groups indeed adopted distinct profiles of attitudes, then a full account of public pressures on the U.S. government in this arena would seem to necessitate addressing the roles of these subgroups.

### Research Methods: Identifying Attentive Public and Issue Public Members

The first step in designing such an investigation is the selection of methods to identify members of the attentive and issue publics in surveys. Fortunately, distinguishing attentive public members from nonmembers is relatively straightforward in light of explications of the guardianship thesis and past empirical explorations of it. Just as Almond (1950) asserted, various indicators of general political knowledge and involvement are fairly strongly positively correlated with one another, and all are positively correlated with the amount of formal education citizens have received (e.g., Krosnick and Milburn, 1990; Price and Zaller, 1993). Certainly, educational attainment reflects many other attributes of individuals as well, including their cognitive skills (Ceci, 1991), their incomes and occupations (Tumin, 1967), and more. But our goal here is simply to use educational attainment as an empirical handle to identify attentive public members in a descriptive sense, not to identify the particular aspects of them that are *causally* responsible for their attention levels or their attitudes. Therefore, education appears to be an effective tool for this investigation.

Differentiating issue public members from nonmembers, however, is a more controversial decision, because it can be done in a number of different ways. Perhaps most simply, some analysts have apparently presumed that all people who take sides on an issue feel strongly about it and are therefore issue public members, and all individuals who profess neutrality or no opinion at all are nonmembers (see, e.g., Page and Shapiro, 1983; Brooks, 1990). Of course, taking this approach begs the question we wish to ask, because nonmembers, by definition, will not lean one way or the other on the issue. But more important, stimulated by Converse's (1964) "non-attitudes" hypothesis, survey researchers have shown that respondents sometimes offer opinions on issues that do not, in fact, represent real or strong attitudes (e.g., see Schuman and Presser, 1981; Smith, 1984; Krosnick and Abelson, 1992). This suggests that all people who offer opinions in surveys should not necessarily be considered members of the issue public.

Another possible approach is to focus on demographically defined groups that seem especially likely to be concerned about and invested in a particular issue (e.g., Gilboa, 1986; Organski, 1990; Page and Shapiro, 1992). For example, some studies have examined the preferences of American Jews, presumably because these individuals consider the Arab-Israeli conflict to be highly personally relevant, and these individuals have consistently been found to express overwhelmingly strong support for Israel (Iyengar and Suleiman, 1980; Gilboa, 1986; Organski, 1990). Furthermore, support for Israel among U.S. senators was positively associated with the proportion of their constituents who were Jewish and the amount of financial support they received from Jewish organizations (Trice, 1977). However, if the Arab-Israeli issue public is at all of a magnitude comparable to that of U.S. issue publics on other issues (see Krosnick, 1990), then it may be quite a bit larger than the 2.5 percent of Americans who are Jewish. Indeed, it seems plausible that some members of the American public (e.g., Arab-Americans) may be strongly invested

in the issue and yet take an anti-Israeli view. One could attempt to use demographics such as religion, ethnicity, and place of residence to identify individuals who are presumably especially concerned about this issue. But such an approach hinges on potentially tenuous assumptions about links between demographics and concern about the issue, and it seems possible that this demographically driven approach may fail to fully identify all issue public members or may inappropriately include people who have no passionate feelings on the issue.

A third possible approach to identifying issue public members in surveys is to use citizens' reports of how important the issue is to them personally (Miller, 1983; Krosnick, 1988a, 1988b, 1990; Elkins, 1993).<sup>1</sup> A great deal of research has shown that people who consider an issue to be personally important do indeed appear to be more cognitively and behaviorally involved in the issue in a variety of ways (see Krosnick, 1986, 1988a, 1988b, 1989, 1990, 1991; Boninger, Krosnick, Berent, and Fabrigar, 1995). Therefore, personal importance seems like an effective indicator with which to distinguish issue public members from nonmembers. No studies have yet applied this technique in the study of the Arab-Israeli issue, so we set out to do so.

We also considered another possible approach, involving a somewhat different measure: respondents' reports of how important the issue is *for the nation as a whole* (e.g., Almond, 1950:70–80; RePass, 1971; Sears, Lau, Tyler, and Allen, 1980; Jackson and Vinovskis, 1983:68–69; Neuman, 1986:72; Iyengar and Kinder, 1987; Aldrich, Sullivan, and Borgida, 1989). The view of voters as "sociotropic" rather than selfish in their thinking about economics (Kinder and Kiewiet, 1979; Kinder and Mebane, 1983; Kinder, Adams, and Gronke, 1989) suggests that considering an issue to be nationally important might be more motivating than simply considering it to be personally important. We therefore explored the possibility of using national importance judgments to identify members of the Arab-Israeli issue public. Furthermore, following the example of Young, Borgida, Sullivan, and Aldrich (1987), we considered the possibility that issue public members may be those individuals who consider an issue *both* highly important to them personally *and* highly important for the country as a whole.

Finally, we took a step further to explore the pluralists' perspective. From their viewpoint, especially passionate issue public members are likely to shape government policy either by communicating their views directly to government officials or by voting for candidates who share their views. Thus, the most influential citizens on this issue might be those who report exerting pressure on government in either of these two ways (see, e.g., Schuman and Presser, 1981; Conover, Gray, and Coombs, 1982; Henshaw and Martire, 1982). Consequently, we assessed whether or not the policy preferences of these individuals regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict were different from those of the general American public.

## National Survey of American Public Opinion

### *Data*

Our first study was done by including a series of questions in a national survey conducted by International Communications Research, Inc. (ICR) in late Decem-

---

<sup>1</sup> Miller (1983) identified issue public members principally with measures of interest in the topic, coupled with measures of knowledge and information exposure. Because reports of interest are nearly perfectly associated with reports of personal importance (Krosnick, Boninger, Chuang, Berent, and Carnot, 1993), these two approaches seem reasonably comparable, although there are reasons to be cautious about combining interest, knowledge, and exposure (e.g., Krosnick and Milburn, 1990; Krosnick and Brannon, 1993).

ber 1988 (see the Appendix for exact question wordings).<sup>2</sup> Two questions were intended to gauge each respondent's general loyalties regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict. One asked whether the respondent's general sympathies leaned toward the Arabs, the Israelis, both equally, or neither. The second item gauged attitudes by assessing people's reactions to the Palestinian uprisings that occurred in 1988. Psychological studies have shown that people's attitudes color their perceptions of events in ways that reinforce those attitudes (e.g., Vallone, Ross, and Lepper, 1985). We therefore asked respondents whether the Palestinian uprisings aroused in them feelings of sympathy for the Israelis, the Palestinians, or neither.

Two other attitude questions tapped respondents' opinions on specific policy issues. One asked whether respondents favored Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories, opposed withdrawal, or neither favored nor opposed it. The other item asked respondents whether or not they favored Israel initiating a dialogue with the PLO. With these latter two items, we were able to gauge respondent support for the official positions taken by the Israeli government in 1988: opposition to both withdrawal from the occupied territories and dialogue with the PLO.

To gauge issue public membership, respondents were asked about the importance of the Arab-Israeli conflict to them personally, the importance of the Arab-Israeli conflict for the U.S., the impact their views on the Arab-Israeli conflict had on their candidate preferences during the 1988 presidential election campaign, and whether or not they had ever taken action to directly express their views on the Arab-Israeli conflict to a government official. To assess attentive public membership, respondents were asked how many years of formal education they had received.<sup>3</sup>

### Results

*General Public Attitudes.* As expected, opinions in the full sample reflected majority neutrality on the general sympathies question (see Table 1). Very few respondents said they were more sympathetic toward the Arabs (7.3%); more respondents expressed greater sympathy toward Israel (22.6%); and the greatest number (70.1%) said they had equal sympathies or had no sympathies one way or the other.<sup>4</sup> The ratio of Israeli supporters to Arab supporters was 3.1; that is, Israeli

<sup>2</sup> The total sample for the survey was 1,018 American adults, half of whom (randomly selected) were asked our questions. Because of interview noncompletion and quota constraints, the sample on which our analyses are based is 512 American adults. The sample was a fully replicated stratified single-stage random-digit-dial design (Waksberg, 1978; Schuman and Kalton, 1984). Within each household, the respondent was the adult (18 yrs. old or older) who had the most recent birthday. Interview attempts were made both on weekdays and on weekends, and up to three attempts were made to contact eligible households.

The final sample was constrained by quotas involving gender and geographic region of residence. The gender quota produced a sample that was half male and half female. Within each gender, the quota guidelines produced numbers of cases within the following ranges for each geographic region of the continental United States: *Northeast*: 105–121; *North Central*: 122–140; *South*: 155–179; *West*: 87–101. If a selected respondent exceeded the quota for a given category, no interview was conducted. Of the eligible respondents, 69.1% were successfully interviewed.

The demographics of the final sample closely resembled the demographics of a 1,001-case representative national sample interviewed by the Gallup Organization at nearly the same time (July 8–10, 1988). For example, the ICR sample was 49.6% men, and the Gallup sample was 49.9% men. The ICR sample was 85.9% white and 9.7% black, whereas the Gallup sample was 86.3% white and 7.2% black. In the ICR sample, 12.4% of respondents had less than a high school education and 36.8% were only high school graduates; the comparable figures in the Gallup sample were 10.4% and 34.1%, respectively.

<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, the survey included no measurement of religion or ethnicity or other demographics that ought to be related to issue public membership.

<sup>4</sup> "Don't know" responses to this and all other questions were treated as missing data and dropped from all analyses reported here.

On the general sympathies question, the 3:1 ratio of pro-Israeli to pro-Arab sentiment in our survey matches findings from other national surveys done at about the same time. For example, a survey done by the Roper

TABLE 1. National Survey: General Public Attitudes

<i>Attitude</i>	<i>Proportion of Total Sample</i>
Sympathy	
Arabs	7.3%
Israelis	22.6
Equal or No Symp.	70.1
Ratio: Israelis/Arabs	3.1
Uprisings	
Palestinians	15.5%
Israelis	17.3
Neither	55.2
Ratio: Israelis/Pal.	1.1
Israeli Withdrawal	
Favor	54.4%
Oppose	14.3
Neither	31.3
Ratio: Oppose/Favor	.3
Dialogue	
Yes	72.9%
No	27.1
Ratio: No/Yes	.4
N	512

supporters outnumbered Arab supporters by more than 3 to 1. Similarly, most respondents said they had no sympathies one way or the other regarding the Palestinian uprisings (55.2%). However, the ratio of Israeli to Palestinian sympathizers on that item was only 1.1.

Majorities of all respondents said that Israel should withdraw from the occupied territories (54.4%) and should initiate a dialogue with the PLO (72.0%), thus disagreeing with the Israeli government's official positions on these issues. The

---

Organization in February 1988 found a ratio of 2.5:1 (Roper Reports, 1991). An April 1988 Roper survey found a ratio of 3.36:1 (Singer and Cohen, 1988), as did a survey conducted by Penn and Schoen in January 1988 (Levinson, 1988). Thus, this aspect of our findings seems clearly to be consistent with other contemporaneous surveys.

Our finding that 70% of respondents failed to take sides on the issue dramatically exceeds the proportions of respondents not taking sides in these other, comparable surveys. For example, the percentage of respondents saying "no sympathies either way" or "equal sympathies for both" was 45% in the February 1988 Roper survey, 44% in the April 1988 Roper survey, and 26.5% in the January 1988 Penn and Schoen survey.

However, there is a crucial and significant difference between the question wordings used in those surveys and that used in ours that is undoubtedly responsible for this discrepancy. Whereas we explicitly offered the "neither" and "equal" alternatives *separately* to our respondents, Roper and Penn and Schoen did not. They simply asked their respondents whether their sympathies were more with Israel or more with the Arabs, so people who offered the "neither" or "equal" responses in their surveys were volunteering those answers on their own. Schuman and Presser (1981) have shown that omitting response alternatives in this way suppresses the number of people who offer those responses, as compared to when they are offered explicitly. Therefore, our results undoubtedly obtained more "neither" and "equal" responses than the other surveys for this reason.

TABLE 2. National Survey: Relation of Attitudes to Education, Personal Importance, and National Importance

Attitude	Sample											
	Education			Personal Importance			National Importance			Personal & National Importance		
	High	Low	Ratio: High/Low	High	Low	Ratio: High/Low	High	Low	Ratio: High/Low	High	Low	Ratio: High/Low
Sympathy	10.4%	6.4%		9.1%	7.1%		6.7%	7.8%		5.9%	7.1%	
Arabs	28.7	20.5		27.3	22.1		32.6	20.3		41.2	20.7	
Israelis	60.9	73.1		63.6	70.8		60.6	71.9		52.9	72.2	
Equal or No Symp.	$\chi^2(2) = 6.4, p < .05$			$\chi^2(2) = 1.7, n.s.$			$\chi^2(2) = 6.1, p < .05$			$\chi^2(2) = 7.2, p < .03$		
Ratio: Israelis/Arabs	2.8	3.2	.9	3.0	3.1	1.0	4.9	2.6	1.9	7.0	2.9	2.4
Uprisings	31.9%	12.5%		22.6%	17.0%		20.2%	17.1%		18.8%	16.0%	
Palestinians	15.0	21.4		32.1	16.4		32.1	17.1		50.0	16.0	
Israelis	53.1	66.1		45.2	66.7		47.6	65.8		31.3	67.0	
Neither	$\chi^2(2) = 21.9, p < .001$			$\chi^2(2) = 14.8, n.s.$			$\chi^2(2) = 11.7, p < .003$			$\chi^2(2) = 23.3, p < .001$		
Ratio: Israelis/Pal.	.5	1.7	.3	1.4	1.0	1.4	1.6	1.0	1.6	2.7	1.0	2.7
Israeli Withdrawal	64.1%	50.6%		55.8%	54.4%		61.9%	52.8%		58.1%	53.2%	
Favor	16.2	13.8		19.8	13.5		22.6	12.7		19.4	11.6	
Oppose	19.7	35.6		24.4	32.1		15.5	34.5		22.6	35.2	
Neither	$\chi^2(2) = 10.3, p < .01$			$\chi^2(2) = 3.2, n.s.$			$\chi^2(2) = 14.5, p < .001$			$\chi^2(2) = 2.8, n.s.$		
Ratio: Oppose/Favor	.3	.3	.9	.4	.3	1.4	.4	.2	1.5	.3	.2	1.5
Dialogue	76.1%	71.3%		70.5%	73.0%		73.1%	72.3%		69.0%	73.2%	
Yes	23.9	28.7		29.5	27.0		26.9	27.7		31.0	27.8	
No	$\chi^2(1) = 1.0, n.s.$			$\chi^2(1) = 0.1, n.s.$			$\chi^2(2) = 0.2, n.s.$			$\chi^2(1) = 0.1, n.s.$		
Ratio: No/Yes	.3	.4	.8	.4	.4	1.1	.4	.4	1.0	.5	.4	1.2
N	120	381		95	367		91	382		34	294	
Average Ratio: High/Low	.7			1.2			1.5			2.0		

ratios of respondents endorsing these official positions to those opposing them were .3 and .4 for withdrawal and dialogue, respectively.

*Attitudes of the Attentive Public.* As expected, the general sympathies of attentive public members were different from those of nonmembers: members were significantly less likely to be neutral than nonmembers (see the first two columns of Table 2).<sup>5</sup> Interestingly, the ratio of pro-Israeli sympathizers to pro-Arab sympathizers was 2.8 among attentive public members, whereas it was 3.2 among nonmembers.

The same pattern appeared for the uprisings item. Attentive public members were less likely to have been unaffected than nonmembers. And among those who were affected, a majority of attentive public members were more sympathetic toward the Palestinians than the Israelis (the ratio of Israeli to Palestinian sympathizers was .5). This pattern reversed among nonmembers, where the majority of those taking sides were more sympathetic toward the Israelis (the ratio of Israeli to Palestinian sympathizers was 1.7).

The same pattern of decreased neutrality among members was apparent in the policy item on withdrawal (which was the only one to measure neutrality). And the slight leaning against official Israeli policy was apparent in the dialogue item. In fact, across all four attitude indicators, attentive public members were less supportive of Israel and its government's positions than were nonmembers. The ratios in the third column of Table 2 are all less than one, averaging .7 (shown in the bottom row).

*Attitudes of the Issue Public.* Issue public membership was also associated with reduced neutrality on the general sympathies, uprisings, and withdrawal questions, regardless of how issue public membership was operationalized (see columns 4 through 12 of Table 2).<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, in contrast to the attentive public, issue public members were generally *more* supportive of Israel and its government's positions than were nonmembers. Consistent with Young, Borgida, Sullivan, and Aldrich's (1987) approach, this pattern was most apparent when issue public membership was operationalized via the conjunction of personal and national importance (see columns 10 through 12 of Table 2), where the average ratio of members to nonmembers in terms of pro-Israeli leaning was 2.0.

The same general pattern is apparent in comparisons of people separated according to attitude expression (see Table 3). Again, neutrality was less common among individuals who expressed their attitudes either directly (via letters or phone calls) or indirectly (via voting) than among those who did not. Furthermore, the average ratios at the bottoms of columns 3 and 6 of Table 3 are again positive

---

Of course, there is no need to concern ourselves about whether our question wording is superior to or inferior to those used by other investigators. Our interest here is not in the apparent balance of sentiments in the general public but rather to see if there is more pro-Israeli sentiment in the attentive and issue publics. Our question wording provides a perfectly suitable opportunity to test these hypotheses.

<sup>5</sup> Consistent with Almond's (1950:127) perspective, respondents who graduated from college were treated as members of the attentive public, and individuals who had attained less formal education were treated as nonmembers. We examined other possible points of division and found results consistent (though weaker) with those reported in the text.

<sup>6</sup> Individuals who said the issue was the single most important to them personally, or one of the two or three most important, were assigned to the high personal importance group. Those who said the issue was less important to them personally were placed in the low personal importance group. Respondents who said the issue was extremely important for the U.S. as a whole were placed in the high national importance group, and those who said the issue was less important for the country were placed in the low national importance group. Individuals who said the issue was the single most important in voting, or one of the two or three most important, were assigned to the indirect expression group. Those who said the issue was less important were considered nonmembers of this group.

TABLE 3. National Survey: Relation Attitudes to Attitude Expression

Attitude	Sample					
	Direct Expression			Indirect Expression		
	Yes	No	Ratio: Yes/No	Yes	No	Ratio: Yes/No
Sympathy						
Arabs	25.0%	6.2%		7.4%	7.5%	
Israelis	42.9	21.2		27.9	21.8	
Equal or No Symp.	32.2	72.5		64.7	70.7	
	$\chi^2(2) = 24.1, p < .001$			$\chi^2(2) = 1.2, n.s.$		
Ratio: Israelis/Arabs	1.7	3.4	.5	3.8	2.9	1.3
Uprisings						
Palestinians	35.7%	16.4%		15.9%	18.2%	
Israelis	21.4	19.5		31.9	16.8	
Neither	42.9	64.1		52.2	65.0	
	$\chi^2(2) = 7.5, p < .03$			$\chi^2(2) = 8.5, p < .02$		
Ratio: Israelis/Pal.	.6	.2	.5	2.0	.9	2.2
Israeli Withdrawal						
Favor	66.7%	53.6%		50.7%	55.8%	
Oppose	25.9	13.6		20.3	13.5	
Neither	7.4	32.8		29.0	30.7	
	$\chi^2(2) = 10.4, p < .01$			$\chi^2(2) = 2.0, n.s.$		
Ratio: Israelis/Arabs	.4	.3	1.6	.4	.2	1.7
Dialogue						
Yes	64.0%	73.5%		62.5%	75.2%	
No	36.0	26.5		37.5	24.8	
	$\chi^2(1) = 1.0, n.s.$			$\chi^2(1) = 4.1, p < .05$		
Ratio: Israelis/Arabs	.6	.4	1.6	.6	.3	1.8
N	28	433		69	358	
Average Ratio: High/Low			1.2			1.8

(1.1 and 1.8, respectively), indicating that attitude expressers were more supportive of Israel and its government's positions than were nonexpressers.

*Independence of the Attentive Public and the Issue Public.* Membership in the attentive public was generally independent of membership in the issue public. In fact, education was uncorrelated with personal importance ( $r = -.05, n.s.$ ), national importance ( $r = -.05, n.s.$ ), and the conjunction of the two ( $r = -.04, n.s.$ ). Although education was negatively correlated with indirect attitude expression via voting ( $r = -.13, p < .01$ ) and positively correlated with direct attitude expression ( $r = .18, p < .001$ ), both of these relations are relatively weak. Therefore, the

relation between attentive public membership and attitudes was apparently independent of the relation of issue public membership to attitudes.<sup>7</sup>

### Survey of Ohio Residents

#### *Data*

Our second study was designed to assess whether or not these same patterns could be replicated in an independent survey. For this study, the Polimetrics Laboratory at The Ohio State University interviewed a representative sample of 403 adults living in the State of Ohio by telephone during January and February 1990.<sup>8</sup> Respondents were asked the sympathies, uprisings, withdrawal, dialogue, personal importance, and educational attainment questions used in the national survey (see the Appendix for details).<sup>9</sup>

#### *Results*

The Ohio sample closely resembled the national sample in terms of the overall distributions of opinions (see the first column of Table 4). Three-quarters of Ohioans (76.5%) expressed equal sympathies or no sympathies. And about five times as many people expressed more sympathy toward the Israelis (19.5%) than expressed more sympathy toward the Arabs (4.0%). Likewise, the majority of the Ohio sample had no sympathies spurred by the uprisings, and more of those who did take sides felt sympathy toward the Israelis (11.8%) than felt sympathy toward the Palestinians (8.8%). And as in the national sample, minorities of Ohioans expressed views agreeing with the Israeli government's official positions on the withdrawal issue (15.5%) and the dialogue issue (33.4%). Thus, the ratios of pro-Israeli positions to pro-Arab positions were 4.9, 1.3, .4, and .5, respectively, for the four attitude measures.

As in the national survey, neutrality was less common among attentive public members than nonmembers on the first three attitude items. And pro-Israeli sentiment was no more prevalent among attentive public members than among nonmembers: the average ratio in the fourth column of Table 4 was .9. However, issue public membership was again associated with increased support for Israel and its government's positions: the average ratio in column 7 of Table 4 was 1.9.

Finally, the relation of membership in the attentive public to membership in the issue public was comparable to that observed in the national sample. The Pearson product-moment correlation between education and personal importance here was .09 ( $p < .05$ ,  $N = 386$ ). Although statistically significant, this very weak association suggests that attentive public membership was essentially orthogonal to issue public membership.

---

<sup>7</sup> We also explored the relations of issue public membership (as measured in the various different ways) to the demographic variables we had available in the survey (i.e., race, age, and income). Although some correlations suggested more issue public members among older adults, this result did not replicate across all measures. Furthermore, there was no relation between issue public membership and either race or income. Therefore, issue public membership does not seem to be linked to such variables for this issue.

<sup>8</sup> The sampling approach used was a variation of the Waksburg technique. Telephone numbers were randomly chosen from telephone directories, and the last two digits of each selected number were replaced by two randomly generated digits. Up to six call-backs were attempted for each selected telephone number before it was retired from the sample. Respondents were randomly selected within households using the Kish method. Of the eligible respondents contacted, 74.1% were successfully interviewed.

<sup>9</sup> Again, this survey did not include measures of religion, ethnicity, or other such demographic variables that might be related to issue public membership.

TABLE 4. Ohio Survey: Relation of Attitudes to Education and Personal Importance

Attitude	Total Sample	Education			Personal Importance		
		High	Low	Ratio: High/Low	High	Low	Ratio: High/Low
<b>Sympathy</b>							
Arabs	4.0%	6.3%	3.2%		9.7%	3.5%	
Israelis	19.5	33.3	14.8		41.9	17.4	
Equal or No Symp.	76.5	60.4	82.0		48.4	79.1	
		$\chi^2(2) = 18.6, p < .001$			$\chi^2(2) = 15.0, p < .001$		
Ratio: Israelis/Arabs	4.9	5.2	4.6	1.1	4.4	5.0	.9
<b>Uprisings</b>							
Palestinians	8.8%	16.3%	6.3%		6.9%	9.1%	
Israelis	11.8	17.4	10.0		24.1	10.7	
Neither	79.4	66.3	83.7		69.0	80.2	
		$\chi^2(2) = 13.6, p < .002$			$\chi^2(2) = 4.7, p < .10$		
Ratio: Israelis/Pal.	1.3	1.1	1.6	.7	3.5	1.2	2.9
<b>Israeli Withdrawal</b>							
Favor	41.6%	49.5%	38.9%		41.9%	41.2%	
Oppose	15.5	19.4	14.3		29.0	14.3	
Neither	42.9	31.2	46.8		29.0	44.5	
		$\chi^2(2) = 7.0, p < .04$			$\chi^2(2) = 5.5, p < .07$		
Ratio: Israelis/Arabs	.4	.4	.4	1.1	.7	.3	2.0
<b>Dialogue</b>							
Yes	66.6%	69.7%	65.2%		53.6%	67.5%	
No	33.4%	30.3	34.8		46.4	32.5	
		$\chi^2(1) = 0.6, n.s.$			$\chi^2(1) = 2.2, n.s.$		
Ratio: Israelis/Arabs	.5	.4	.5	.8	.9	.5	1.8
N	401	98	303		32	356	
Average Ratio: High/Low				.9			1.9

## Discussion

### *The Issue Public*

In sum, we found two sizable and robust differences between the opinions of issue public members and nonmembers. First, members were less often neutral on the Arab-Israeli conflict than were nonmembers, a finding consistent with demonstrations on other issues that people who consider an issue to be more important tend to express more extreme preferences (e.g., Brent and Granberg, 1982). And second, among people who did take sides, issue public members were more supportive of Israel generally and of two of its government's official policy positions than were nonmembers. This suggests that future investigations of the role of American public opinion in shaping U.S. policy toward Israel may benefit from careful attention to the issue public. That is, because the intense minority on this issue seems to take a distinct stand from that of the general public, the pluralist approach to public influence seems to merit specific study in this case.

Among individuals who expressed general sympathies one way or the other, the majority of the general public supported Israel, and this was even more true in the

issue public. Interestingly, this leaning seems to be consistent with that of U.S. foreign policy during the late 1980s, when our surveys were done. U.S. foreign aid to Israel was greater than that given to any other nation and was quite a bit greater than that given to opposing Arab nations. U.S. political support for Israel was quite strong, especially clearly so in the United Nations, where the U.S. was willing to oppose both Arab positions as well as the positions of a majority of states in the U.N. in order to pursue Israel's goals. Between 1976 and 1990, 76% of all U.N. Security Council resolutions where the United States was the only member to cast a veto related to Israel, and these vetoes nearly all involved U.S. efforts in line with Israel's preferences (compiled from Patil, 1992:481-486). Militarily, the 1980s saw an increased strengthening of the strategic relationship between Israel and the U.S., as evidenced partly by the fact that some weapons transferred to Israel were not offered to any other state outside of NATO. Simultaneously, the U.S. continued not to recognize the PLO unless the latter officially recognized Israel and renounced terrorism. Thus, the general leaning of U.S. policy in the Middle East was apparently closer to the general leaning of issue public members than that of nonmembers.

This same finding has been obtained in previous studies that examined issue publics concerned about other policy issues as well. With regard to gun control (Erskine, 1972; Schuman and Presser, 1981; Wright, 1981), abortion (Schuman and Presser, 1981; Conover, Gray, and Coombs, 1982; Henshaw and Martire, 1982; Gallup and Newport, 1990), the Equal Rights Amendment (Conover, Gray, and Coombs, 1982; Mansbridge, 1986), and domestic science policy (Miller, 1983), issue public members were quite a bit more likely to agree with government policy than were nonmembers. And in a combined analysis of numerous public policy issues, Monroe (1979) found greater correspondence between general public opinion and government policy on issues that larger proportions of Americans considered to be the most important facing the country. Taken together with the present evidence, these prior studies reinforce the recommendation that future studies exploring public opinion impact on U.S. Arab-Israeli policy should pay special attention to the role of the issue public, because it seems to be more in line with government policy and perhaps more responsible for it.

On the two specific policy issues we examined, the majority of the general public expressed opposition to the Israeli government's official positions in the late 1980s. That is, most of the people who took sides favored withdrawal from the occupied territories and favored dialogue with the PLO. Although the issue public was relatively more opposed to these initiatives and therefore was more in line with official Israeli policies at that time, a majority of those taking sides within the issue public opposed these policies.

This may account in part for developments in U.S. policy in the Middle East that occurred in the early 1990s. At that time, the Bush administration placed the issue of Israeli territorial compromise high on its list of priorities and took actions accordingly. For example, it withheld loan guarantees badly needed to help Israel absorb Soviet Jewish immigrants in order to press that nation not to build new settlements on the West Bank, and, in fact, to withdraw completely. Moreover, the Bush administration effortfully brought the reluctant Israeli government into a negotiation process with Arab states and Palestinians, in the Madrid process, in order to pursue a "land for peace" exchange. So high was the tension between the Israeli government and the Bush administration on this issue that one Israeli minister declared, "Bush is hostile to Israel; his policy smacks of anti-semitism . . ." (FBIS-NES-91-184, 23 September 1991, p. 46). These various efforts on the part of the U.S. may have occurred at that time partly because U.S. public preferences, and especially those of issue public members, were supportive of these lines of action.

*The Attentive Public*

As expected, attentive public members expressed neutral stands less often than nonmembers. However, we found no robust difference between members and nonmembers in terms of the leaning of individuals who did take sides. If anything, attentive public members appeared to be slightly less pro-Israel than nonmembers. Interestingly, this finding parallels a pattern that we uncovered through close inspection of Singer and Cohen's (1988) tables of the results of an April 1988 national survey: level of sympathy toward Israel and the Arab nations was essentially equivalent among highly educated Americans and less educated Americans in that survey as well, with a trend suggesting slightly more sympathy toward Israel among the latter.

This result does not, of course, suggest that no attention should be paid to the guardianship perspective in future studies of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Indeed, this perspective may well prove to be a useful handle for gaining insight into some aspects of U.S. action relating to the Middle East. But our finding does imply that such analysis may be less fruitful than a focus on the issue public. It is certainly possible that a measure of attentive public membership more precise than education would yield different findings than those reported here. So before the guardianship perspective is abandoned completely, it may be worthwhile to consider alternative operationalizations. But for the moment, our results suggest that such efforts may not be especially fruitful. And it may turn out that in this domain, issue public pressure on government ran in the opposite direction to whatever pressure was brought to bear by the attentive public.

Our findings with regard to the attentive public apparently reflect a change in the gap between members and nonmembers between the mid-1970s and the late 1980s. In line with our evidence, a close inspection of Gruen's (1975-76) tables of results from a national survey done in 1975 indicated that better-educated citizens were less likely to express neutral views regarding Israeli dialogue with the PLO. But Gruen's (1975-76) numbers indicate that among individuals who did take sides on this issue, better-educated citizens were more likely to oppose dialogue. Similarly, general support for Israel relative to Arabs was more apparent among better-educated respondents in Iyengar and Suleiman's (1980) national survey data collected in 1974, 1975, and 1977. Because the attitude measures and interviewing procedures used in these studies were not identical to those used in ours or Singer and Cohen's (1988), it is not necessarily appropriate to make direct comparisons of results. But the absence of this relation of education to opinions in our data and Singer and Cohen's (1988) suggests that between the mid-1970s and the late 1980s, attentive public members may have become less distinct from nonmembers in terms of their preferences.

*Gauging Causality*

Although our data reveal unusual correspondence between U.S. foreign policy and general sympathies in the issue public, we certainly cannot conclude that this group influenced policy-making. As Russett (1990) has pointed out, such consistency can occur because (1) public opinion shaped public policy, (2) public policy shaped public opinion, (3) each shaped the other, or (4) neither influenced the other, but both were independently shaped by the same national and international events (see also Gibson, 1988). Thus, evidence of greater opinion-policy consistency in the issue public does not unambiguously support the pluralist view of public influence on government.

However, as we mentioned above, it seems particularly unlikely that such corre-

spondence emerges because public policy shapes the opinions of issue public members. It is true that issue public members are especially likely to be attentive to issue-related events that occur and are therefore likely to be well informed about government policy (Berent and Krosznick, 1993a, 1993b). However, issue public members have firmly crystallized attitudes that are highly stable over time (Schuman and Presser, 1981; Krosznick, 1988b) and quite resistant to change (Fine, 1957; Gorn, 1975). Therefore, the correspondence we saw between public policy and the opinions of issue public members is unlikely to represent greater impact of the former on the latter. Furthermore, people who consider an issue to be personally and nationally important are especially likely to express their opinions either directly to government officials or indirectly via voting (Fabrigar, Krosznick, and Miller, 1994). Thus, they are exerting pressure on government and are clearly players in this arena with the potential for influence.

One approach to generating more definitive evidence of causal impact of public opinion on policy has been to interview policy-makers themselves and gauge their perceptions of the processes by which decisions were made (e.g., Cohen, 1973). However, a vast literature attests to the substantial biases and blind-spots inherent in testimony about the causes of one's own and others' behavior (see, e.g., Nisbett and Wilson, 1977). Fortunately, a clearly preferable method is available: assessing lagged effects of opinion on policy in longitudinal studies (Iyengar and Suleiman, 1980; Page and Shapiro, 1983; Hartley and Russett, 1992; Mishler and Sheehan, 1993). For example, Page and Shapiro (1983) examined whether or not shifts in government policy paralleled shifts in public opinion across a wide range of domestic and international issues and found a great deal of such correspondence. Furthermore, a large fraction of the shifts in public opinion preceded the analogous shifts in policy, thus suggesting a causal impact of the former on the latter (see also Hartley and Russett, 1992; Mishler and Sheehan, 1993). However, as we mentioned above, Iyengar and Suleiman (1980) found precisely the opposite results in their study of opinions on the Arab-Israeli conflict, which raises questions about whether Page and Shapiro's (1983) general conclusion applies to this particular case. Nonetheless, this sort of approach clearly generates compelling data regarding the causal processes at work.

Although Hartley and Russett (1992), Iyengar and Suleiman (1980), and Mishler and Sheehan (1993) did not test whether or not stronger attitudes had more impact on government policy, Page and Shapiro (1983) did. They assessed opinion strength by the proportion of the public declining to offer an opinion on an issue, presuming that a smaller proportion corresponded to greater strength. And indeed, Page and Shapiro did observe greater correspondence between public opinion and policy shifts when greater proportions of the public offered opinions on an issue. However, Brooks (1990) found no greater consistency between public opinion and public policy when smaller portions of the public declined to report preferences on an issue. Therefore, it is difficult to know whether or not this approach to assessing attitude strength is effective, so it would be useful to see this sort of analysis done using other measures of issue public membership.

#### *Conclusion*

We hope to have illustrated how the majoritarian, guardianship, and pluralist perspectives can be compared and contrasted more precisely when appropriate longitudinal data become available. In particular, to permit evaluation of the pluralist vision, issue public members must be identified in new investigations. Unfortunately, however, issue public membership has been gauged only rarely in public opinion surveys, despite a strong theoretical rationale for doing so (see

Krosnick and Abelson, 1992). If and when enough surveys have been conducted that include such measures, longitudinal analytic approaches such as Page and Shapiro's (1983) can be applied to issue public members in isolation. This method may reveal particularly strong correspondence between opinions and policies and may perhaps thereby locate the sources of greatest influence within electorates. In the meantime, our results justify the collection of the necessary data regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict and should also encourage analysts to consider the potential for issue public opinion influence in this arena more than has been done to date.

### Appendix: Question Wordings

#### *National Survey*

Our section of the interview began with the following introduction:

"During the last few years, there has been a major dispute between Arabs and Israelis in the Middle East over what should become of the occupied territories on the West Bank and Gaza. The next few questions are about your opinions on this topic."

Respondents were then asked ten questions, eight of which are used here. There were actually two different sets of these questions, each of which was asked of a randomly selected half of our sample. The wordings of these questions were varied slightly across the two forms. Specifically, the orders of the response alternatives were varied in order to minimize the impact of response order effects on the marginal distributions of responses (Krosnick and Alwin, 1987). The wordings of the Form A questions and the variations for Form B are indicated below:

*Sympathy.* First of all, in thinking about the Arab-Israeli conflict generally, are you more sympathetic toward the Israelis, more sympathetic toward the Arabs, are you equally sympathetic to both sides, or do you have no sympathies one way or the other? (In Form B, the order of the first two response choices was reversed.)

*Israeli Withdrawal.* One proposed solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict would be for Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories in exchange for peace. Are you inclined to favor this approach, inclined to oppose this approach, or do you neither favor nor oppose it? (In Form B, the order of the first two response choices was reversed.)

*Uprisings.* Did the recent Palestinian uprising make you more sympathetic toward the Palestinians, more sympathetic toward the Israelis, or did it have no effect on your sympathies? (In Form B, the order of the first two response choices was reversed.)

*Dialogue.* Given recent events, do you feel that Israel should initiate a dialogue with the PLO, or Palestine Liberation Organization?

*National Importance.* How important would you say the Arab-Israeli conflict is for the security and welfare of the United States as a whole? Is it extremely important, very important, somewhat important, or not too important? (The order of the response choices was reversed in Form B.)

*Personal Importance.* As compared to your feelings on other political issues, how important is the Arab-Israeli conflict to you personally? Is it the single

most important political issue to you, one of the two or three most important issues, one of the five most important issues, or is it not among the five issues you personally consider most important? (The order of the response choices was reversed in Form B.)

*Impact on Candidate Preference.* Which of the following presidential candidates was your favorite during the primary season of the 1988 presidential election campaign: Was it George Bush, Michael Dukakis, Jesse Jackson, Robert Dole, or Jack Kemp? How important was your view on the Arab-Israeli conflict in determining which of these candidates was your favorite? Was it the single most important issue, one of the two or three most important issues, one of the five most important issues, or was it not among the five most important issues? (The order of the response choices was reversed in Form B.)

*Direct Attitude Expression.* Have you ever written a letter, made a telephone call, or done anything else to express your views on the Arab-Israeli conflict directly to a government official, newspaper, or magazine?

#### Ohio Survey

In the Ohio survey, our section of the interview was introduced with a simple preamble: "Now I would like to ask you some questions on the Arab-Israeli conflict." Respondents were then asked the *sympathies*, *withdrawal*, *uprisings*, *dialogue*, and *personal importance* questions used in the national survey. Because we found no effects of the response order variations in that survey, no such variations were included in this questionnaire.

#### References

- ADAMS, J. (1981) Assessing Israel as a Strategic Asset: A Quantitative Comparison with Other Repositioning Sites. *Middle East Review* 14:43-54.
- ALDRICH, J. H., J. L. SULLIVAN, AND E. BORGIDA (1989) Foreign Affairs and Issue Voting: Do Presidential Candidates "Waltz Before a Blind Audience?" *American Political Science Review* 83:123-141.
- ALMOND, G. A. (1950) *The American People and Foreign Policy*. New York: Praeger.
- BARDES, B. A., AND R. W. OLDENDICK (1990) Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: A Field in Search of Theory. *Research in Micropolitics* 3:227-247.
- BERENT, M. K., AND J. A. KROSINICK (1993a) Attitude Importance and Memory for Attitude-Relevant Information. Unpublished manuscript, The Ohio State University.
- BERENT, M. K., AND J. A. KROSINICK (1993b) Attitude Importance and Selective Exposure to Attitude-Relevant Information. Unpublished manuscript, The Ohio State University.
- BONINGER, D. S., J. A. KROSINICK, M. K. BERENT, AND L. R. FABRIGAR (1995) "The Causes and Consequences of Attitude Importance." In *Attitude Strength: Antecedents and Consequences*, edited by R. E. Petty and J. A. Krosnick. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- BRENT, E., AND D. GRANBERG (1982) Subjective Agreement and the Presidential Candidates of 1976 and 1980. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 42:393-403.
- BROOKS, J. E. (1990) The Opinion-Policy Nexus in Germany. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 54:508-529.
- CECI, S. J. (1991) How Much Does Schooling Influence General Intelligence and Its Cognitive Components? A Reassessment of the Evidence. *Developmental Psychology* 27:703-722.
- CHOMSKY, N. (1983) *The Fateful Triangle*. Boston: South End Press.
- COHEN, B. C. (1973) *The Public's Impact on Foreign Policy*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- CONOVER, P. J., V. GRAY, AND S. COOMBS (1982) Single-Issue Voting: Elite-Mass Linkages. *Political Behavior* 4:309-331.
- CONVERSE, P. E. (1964) "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." In *Ideology and Discontent*, edited by D. E. Apter. New York: Free Press.
- COTTON, T. Y. C. (1986) War and American Democracy: Voting Trends in the Last Five American Wars. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 25:429-469.
- DAHL, R. A. (1956) *A Preface to Democratic Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- DAHL, R. A. (1989) *Democracy and Its Critics*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- DE BOER, C. (1983) The Polls: Attitudes Toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 47:121-131.
- DESTLER, I., AND A. LAKE (1984) *Our Own Worst Enemy: The Unmaking of American Foreign Policy*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- DEVINE, D. J. (1970) *The Attentive Public*. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- DOWNS, A. (1957) *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper & Row.
- ELKINS, D. J. (1993) *Manipulation and Consent: How Voters and Leaders Manage Complexity*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- ERSKINE, H. (1972) The Polls: Gun Control. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36:455-469.
- EWING, T. N. (1942) A Study of Certain Factors Involved in Changes of Opinion. *Journal of Social Psychology* 16:63-88.
- FABRIGAR, L. R., J. A. KROSINICK, AND J. M. MILLER (1994) What Motivates Issue Public Membership? Distinguishing Between Personal Importance and National Importance. Unpublished manuscript, The Ohio State University.
- FINE, B. J. (1957) Conclusion-Drawing, Communicator Credibility, and Anxiety as Factors in Opinion Change. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 54:369-374.
- GALLUP, G., AND F. NEWPORT (1990) Americans Shift Toward Pro-Choice Position. *Gallup Poll Monthly* 295:2-4.
- GIBSON, J. L. (1988) Political Intolerance and Political Repression During the McCarthy Red Scare. *American Political Science Review* 82:511-529.
- GILBOA, E. (1985a) Trends in American Attitudes Toward the PLO and the Palestinians. *Political Communication and Persuasion* 3:45-67.
- GILBOA, E. (1985b) Effects of the War in Lebanon on American Attitudes Toward Israel and the Arab-Israeli Conflict. *Middle East Review* 18:30-43.
- GILBOA, E. (1986) Attitudes of American Jews Toward Israel: Trends Over Time. *American Jewish Year Book* 86:110-125.
- GILBOA, E. (1987) *American Public Opinion Toward Israel and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*. Toronto: Lexington Books.
- GORN, G. J. (1975) The Effects of Personal Involvement, Communication Discrepancy, and Source Prestige on Reactions to Communications on Separatism. *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science* 7:369-386.
- GRUEN, G. E. (1975-76) Arab Petropower and American Public Opinion. *Middle East Review* 7:33-39.
- HAHN, H. (1970) The Political Impact of Shifting Attitudes. *Social Science Quarterly* 51:730-742.
- HARTLEY, T., AND B. RUSSETT (1992) Public Opinion and the Common Defense: Who Governs Military Spending in the United States? *American Political Science Review* 86:905-915.
- HENSHAW, S. K., AND G. MARTIRE (1982) Morality and Legality. *Family Planning Perspectives* 14:53-60.
- IYENGAR, S., AND D. R. KINDER (1987) *News That Matters*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- IYENGAR, S., AND M. SULEIMAN (1980) Trends in Public Support for Egypt and Israel, 1956-1978. *American Politics Quarterly* 8:34-60.
- JACKSON, J. E., AND M. A. VINOVSIS (1983) "Public Opinion, Elections, and the 'Single-Issue' Issue." In *The Abortion Dispute and the American System*, edited by G. Y. Steiner. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.
- KENDALL, P. (1954) *Conflict and Mood: Factors Affecting Stability of Response*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.
- KINDER, D. R., G. S. ADAMS, AND P. W. GRONKE (1989) Economics and Politics in the 1984 American Presidential Election. *American Journal of Political Science* 33:491-515.
- KINDER, D. R., AND D. R. KIEWIET (1979) Economic Discontent and Political Behavior: The Role of Personal Grievances and Collective Economic Judgments in Congressional Voting. *American Journal of Political Science* 23:495-517.
- KINDER, D. R., AND W. R. MEBANE, JR. (1983) "Politics and Economics in Everyday Life." In *The Political Process and Economic Change*, edited by K. R. Monroe. New York: Agathon.
- KROSINICK, J. A. (1986) *Policy Voting in American Presidential Elections: An Application of Psychological Theory to American Politics*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan.
- KROSINICK, J. A. (1988a) The Role of Attitude Importance in Social Evaluation: A Study of Policy Preferences, Presidential Candidate Evaluations, and Voting Behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 55:196-210.
- KROSINICK, J. A. (1988b) Attitude Importance and Attitude Change. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 24:240-255.

- KROSINICK, J. A. (1989) Attitude Importance and Attitude Accessibility. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 15:297–308.
- KROSINICK, J. A. (1990) Government Policy and Citizen Passion: A Study of Issue Publics in Contemporary America. *Political Behavior* 12:59–92.
- KROSINICK, J. A. (1991) Americans' Perceptions of Presidential Candidates: A Test of the Projection Hypothesis. *Journal of Social Issues* 46:159–182.
- KROSINICK, J. A., AND R. P. ABELSON (1992) "The Case for Measuring Attitude Strength in Surveys." In *Questions About Questions: Inquiries into the Cognitive Bases of Surveys*, edited by J. Tanur. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- KROSINICK, J. A., AND D. F. ALWIN (1987) An Evaluation of a Cognitive Theory of Response-Order Effects in Survey Measurement. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 51:201–219.
- KROSINICK, J. A., D. S. BONINGER, Y. C. CHUANG, M. K. BERENT, AND C. G. CARNOT (1993) Attitude Strength: One Construct or Many Related Constructs? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 65:1132–1151.
- KROSINICK, J. A., AND L. A. BRANNON (1993) The Impact of the Gulf War on the Ingredients of Presidential Evaluations: Multidimensional Effects of Political Involvement. *American Political Science Review* 87:963–975.
- KROSINICK, J. A., AND M. A. MILBURN (1990) Psychological Determinants of Political Opinionation. *Social Cognition* 8:49–72.
- LEIGH, M. (1976) *Mobilizing Consent: Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy, 1937–1947*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- LEVINSON, B. S. (1988) *American Reaction to Gaza—West Bank Unrest*. New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.
- MANSBRIDGE, J. J. (1986) *Why We Lost the E.R.A.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- MILBRATH, L. W. (1965) *Political Participation*. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- MILLER, J. D. (1983) *The American People and Science Policy*. New York: Pergamon Press.
- MISHLER, W., AND R. S. SHEEHAN (1993) The Supreme Court as a Countermajoritarian Institution? The Impact of Public Opinion on Supreme Court Decisions. *American Political Science Review* 87:87–101.
- MONROE, A. D. (1979) Consistency Between Public Preferences and National Policy Decision. *American Politics Quarterly* 7:3–19.
- NEUMAN, W. R. (1986) *The Paradox of Mass Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- NISBETT, R. E., AND T. WILSON (1977) Telling More Than We Know: Verbal Reports on Mental Processes. *Psychological Review* 84:231–259.
- ORGANSKI, A. F. K. (1990) *The \$36 Billion Bargain: Strategy and Politics in U.S. Assistance to Israel*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- PAGE, B. I., AND R. Y. SHAPIRO (1983) Effects of Public Opinion on Policy. *American Political Science Review* 77:175–190.
- PAGE, B. I., AND R. Y. SHAPIRO (1992) *The Rational Public: Fifty Years of Trends in Americans' Policy Preferences*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- PATIL, A. V. (1992) *The U.N. Veto in World Affairs 1946–1990*. Sarasota, FL: UNIFO.
- PRICE, V., AND J. ZALLER (1993) Who Gets the News? Alternative Measures of News Reception and Their Implications for Research. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 57:133–164.
- REPASS, D. E. (1971) Issue Salience and Party Choice. *American Political Science Review* 65:389–400.
- RICHMAN, A. (1989) American Attitudes Toward Israeli–Palestinian Relations in the Wake of the Uprisings. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 53:415–430.
- ROPER ORGANIZATION (1991) *Roper Reports 91–3*. New York: The Roper Organization.
- RUSSETT, B. (1990) *Controlling the Sword: The Democratic Governance of National Security*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- RUSSETT, B., AND T. GRAHAM (1989) "Public Opinion and National Security Policy: Relationship and Impacts." In *Handbook of War Studies*, edited by M. I. Midlarsky. Boston: Unwin Hyman.
- SCHATTSCHEIDER, E. E. (1942) *Party Government*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- SCHUMAN, H., AND G. KALTON (1984) "Survey Methods." In *Handbook of Social Psychology*, edited by G. Lindzey and E. Aronson. New York: Random House.
- SCHUMAN, H., AND S. PRESSER (1981) *Questions and Answers in Attitude Surveys: Experiments on Question Form, Wording and Context*. New York: Academic Press.
- SCHUMPETER, J. A. (1950) *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. New York: Harper & Row.
- SEARS, D. O., R. R. LAU, T. R. TYLER, AND H. M. ALLEN, JR. (1980) Self-Interest vs. Symbolic Politics in Policy Attitudes and Presidential Voting. *American Political Science Review* 74:670–684.

- SHEFFER, G. (1987) The United States–Israel “Special Relationship.” *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations* 9:35–44.
- SINGER, D., AND R. COHEN (1988) *In the Wake of the Palestinian Uprisings: Findings of the April 1988 Roper Poll*. New York: American Jewish Committee.
- SMITH, H. (1988) *The Power Game: How Washington Works*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- SMITH, T. W. (1984) “Nonattitudes: A Review and Evaluation.” In *Surveying Subjective Phenomena*, edited by C. F. Turner and E. Martin. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- SPIEGEL, S. L. (1985) *The Other Arab–Israeli Conflict: Making America’s Middle East Policy, from Truman to Reagan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- STEMBER, C. H. (1966) “The Impact of Israel on American Attitudes.” In *Jews in the Mind of America*, edited by C. H. Stember. New York: Basic Books.
- TESSER, A. (1978) “Self-Generated Attitude Change.” In *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, vol. 11, edited by L. Berkowitz. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- TRICE, R. H. (1976) *Interest Groups and the Foreign Policy Process: U.S. Policy in the Middle East*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- TRICE, R. H. (1977) Congress and the Arab–Israeli Conflict: Support for Israel in the U.S. Senate, 1970–1973. *Political Science Quarterly* 92:443–463.
- TRICE, R. H. (1978) Foreign Policy Interest Groups, Mass Public Opinion, and the Arab–Israeli Dispute. *Western Political Quarterly* 31:238–252.
- TUMIN, M. M. (1967) *Social Stratification*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- USLANER, E. M. (1986) “One Nation, Many Voices: Interest Groups in Foreign Policy Making.” In *Interest Group Politics*, edited by A. J. Cigler and B. A. Loomis. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press.
- VALLONE, R. P., L. ROSS, AND M. R. LEPPER (1985) The Hostile Media Phenomenon: Biased Perception and Perceptions of Media Bias in Coverage of the Beirut Massacre. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 49:577–585.
- WAKSBERG, J. (1978) Sampling Methods for Random Digit Dialing. *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 73:40–46.
- WRIGHT, J. D. (1981) Public Opinion and Gun Control: A Comparison of Results from Two Recent National Surveys. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 455:24–39.
- YOUNG, J., E. BORGIDA, J. SULLIVAN, AND J. ALDRICH (1987) Personal Agendas and the Relationship Between Self-Interest and Voting Behavior. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 50:64–71.
- ZUREIK, E., AND F. MOUGHRABI (1987) *Public Opinion and the Palestine Question*. New York: St. Martin’s Press.